

Border Matters and Border Determination Studies Between the Provinces of Montenegro and Kosovo after the Berlin Pact

On the other hand, Montenegro Prince announces, if Kosovo Muslims surrender, they will be behaved humanly, but if not, he declared they'll be behaved unjustly. Montenegro general Bojo Petrović claims that, Kosovo people in Gusinje and Plave are directly supported by Babi-ali and Ahmet Muhtar Pasha gives 500 rifles and a lot of ammunition to Gusinyeli Ali Pasha. As for new events strike out, Ottoman's attention should be taken in a proper way before it is too late.

Also Ahmet Muhtar Pasha's being sent to the region again doesn't make it possible to gain not the Kosovo Albanians but Albanian Albanians. Ahmet Muhtar Pasha aims to accept his advises to Albanians for not to shed blood in vain and give up rebellion, so he'll do this with words instead of using force. Ahmet Muhtar Pasha says to Albanians that, whose lands are given to Montenegro people, you can immigrate to Prizren, Kosovo, İškodra, Manastır and Ergiri and you'll be settled to farms in these lands, you'll be given seeds and machines for agriculture. Even it is said that they are free from tax for a few years, finding a solution to the matter with advise and peace method doesn't work.

c- Italy's mediation instead of Gusinye and Plave Gruda, Klemendi and Hot's being given to Montenegro: Kont Corti Pact

Montenegro delegate Voyvoda Gabroye is in İstanbul and he urgently wants to go his hometown. The reason is it is understood that as because of the article of Gusinye, Montenegro people want to start a war. The transmission of some materials to the region is started. Prince Nicola send the message to abandon Gusinye in 3-4 days, if not so Montenegro army'll enter Gusinye. Also Montenegro who sent nato to great states send their complaints. He wants Ottoman State to pay 2 billion Frank as indemnity and up to fulfill the articles of Berlin Pact completely, he declares that he seizes the possessions of the Muslims who immigrate from the lands which are abandoned to Montenegro. Ottomans effect on Albanians becomes lesser as; Mehmet Ali Pasha's being killed who is sent to Albania to find a solution and then instead of him Ahmet Muhtar Pasha's been sent and his struggles come out with no result.

It should be declared that; Mostly, Italy interests the national development in Albania. As Italy, who afraid of the situation, knows Austria has potential to interfere in Albania, so immediately in the side of the problems being solved between Ottoman State and Montenegro. How earlier it is solved, much better it will be.

After Albanians reacted for Gusinye and Pleve's been given to Montenegro, on 2nd April in 1880 the member countries' leaders of Berlin Pact start to think about the matter. Italian representative Kont Corti who mediates between Ottoman and Montenegro, offers to give Gruda, Hot and Klemendi instead of Gusinye and Plave, because Gruda, Hot and Klemendi are mostly formed by Catholic Albanians. Finally, it is accepted to leave Hot, Gruda and Klemendi to Montenegro. According to the treatment called Kont Corti.

1- Border starts from Vakroçi up to the lake. It passes the lake and goes between the Kasrati and Hoti Lakes, then passes the top of Tuzi and Hoti Mountains and reaches the River of Zam. It goes through the river of Zam and climb foot of Goliş and following the tops of Yenzika Mountain by passing the Vermos Valley reach the top of the Stovica Mountain. The border passing from the top of Libovica Zerintin ends with by leaving Kerya to Montenegro and Okra Plantya to Ottoman State.

2- These lands will be abandoned 10 days after the treaty.

BOA, YAHUS, 163/30.

Beitullah Destani (Ed.) "Mr. Kirby Green to Marques of Salisbury 17 January 1880 Cetinje" *Montenegro: Political And Ethnic Boundaries 1840-1920*, Volume I, Cambridge University Press Archive Editions, Wilts 2001 UK, p. 640.

BOA, Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Elçilik, Şehbenderlik Ve Ataşemiliterlik (YPRKEŞA), 2/11.

Armaoğlu; *İbid*, p. 540.

Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *İbid*, p. 138; BOA, İradeler Meclis-i Mahsus (İMMS), 66 /3104.

Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *İbid*, p. 138.

Armaoğlu *İbid* page 540-541.

For the whole text of the treaty look at Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *İbid*, page 353-356.

Albanians whose lands are given to Montenegro by saying ‘you’ll gain the lands again with the help of God and Our Prophet which you have to abandon, don’t lose your hope.’^{***}

According to Corti Treaty by considering the borders between Ottoman and Montenegro^{†††}, it is started to the solution of the matter and carrying out the articles of the barter. Also the military and material needs for the evacuation are provided^{†††}. Ghazi Ahmet Muhtar Pasha demands soldiers in order to fight against the terrorists^{§§§}. He gives the order of making Albanians accept the border which is determined in Corti Treaty by advise if not with help of soldiers by force. It is explained that they’ll be given lands from Hümayun farms and other places. Besides, in order not to cause any problem it is desired what need to do^{****}. But, Albanians tell Ferik Necip Pasha that they’ll not accept the advice committee^{††††}.

In conclusion, at least Ottoman State tries to give a sense of faith to treaty and ready to do what’s necessary, it is not easy to solve the problem. It comes out that the plan that Italy puts forward with great hopes doesn’t work. The insistent acts of Albanians require to think Berlin Pact, again. In the region Abdulhamid’s struggles to find a peaceful solution is in vain because of Albanians an insistent thought.

d- England’s Efforts, Ülgün’s Exchange With Gusinye and Plava

Upon the Kont Corti Treaty is out of use, a solving plan is put forward by England. The article comes forth, as before European ambassadors give a note to Ottoman, if the submission of the lands, which are determined in Berlin Pact, are not taken in, it is thought to give Ülgün instead of these lands. As it is known by the Albanians that it impossible to abandon that note which is published August 1878, different alternatives are applied^{††††}.

In 2 years time, liberal party is in power. The leadership is done by William Gladstone who is known with his Turk hostility. A great deal of changes occur in England’s political aspects about Turkey. This worries Abdulhamid^{§§§§}. The prime minister of England Gladstone makes great efforts to protect the rights of the small countries especially Montenegro^{*****}. But this offer is given up since it may cause a new crisis in the Balkans. In short, with Gladstone period England’s policy changes towards Ottoman. It is a period of breaking Ottoman State instead of protecting it^{†††††}.

In Kont Corti Treatment which is done with Italy’s moderation on 12th April 1880, England’s Foreign Affairs Minister Lord Grandville^{†††††} who seen Ottoman State responsible with the problems, prepares an offer pack and present it to great countries which consists of Montenegro’s legal wishes^{§§§§§}. Gladstone, who declares that carrying out some articles of Berlin Pact is a European crisis, wishes for from the six states to give a memorandum to Ottoman State via their ambassadors. Gladstone wants to be carried out the agreements in Montenegro and Greece and he puts forward Albanians to be given autonomy. The agreement is send via the ambassadors to Babi-Ali on 11th June 1880^{*****}. It is also added that Ottoman himself will responsible from the bad results delaying to carrying out the agreement^{†††††}. Ottoman is accused of not pertaining the Kont Corti Pact and ignoring Albanian’s invasion of the lands, which are given to Montenegro. On the memorandums which Ambassadors of the great states one by one give to Babi-Ali, it is also expressed that Ottoman will be responsible

*** Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *İbid*, p. 146-146.

††† BOA, YPRK UM, 1/102.

††† BOA, YPRK.KOM, 2/75.

§§§ BOA, YEE, 147/12.

**** BOA, YEE, 101/16.

†††† BOA, YAHUS, 164/160.

†††† BOA, YEE, 101/15.

§§§§ Britain, having pursued a “Turcophil” policy was highly agitated because of the otoman attitude during Bulgarian revolt. The British public turned against Turks after Gladstone published “Bulgarian Horrors and the question of the East” and issued 200 thousand copies. M.S Anderson *İbid*, page 221-184.

***** Joan Haslip; Unknown Soutlan IInd Abdulhamid, IQ Kültür Sanat Yay. Ist. 2001 Trans: Nejdet Öztürk, page 190.

††††† Armaoğlu; *İbid*, p. 541.

††††† Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *İbid*, p. 144.

§§§§§ BOA, YAHUS, 164/83.

***** BOA, YAHUS, 165/22.

†††††† Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *İbid*, p. 144.

for any conflict between Albanians and Montenegro and it is wished Corti Pact to be applied⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺. Because of the unavoidable resistance of Kosovo Albanians in in Gusinye and Pleve, England declares that Montenegro and Ottoman should come together immediately to solve the problem. They come together in Berlin and discuss with the matters Montenegro and Greece on 16th June 1880^{§§§§§}. England's Cabinet finds an alternative solution to the border matter between Ottoman and Montenegro on 26th of 1880.

For this reason; these lands should be abandoned to Montenegro, which are Hot and Grode lands between Adriatic Sea and Iskodra which comprises Ülgün and upto the river Boyona. In order to lessen the reactions of the Albanians it is offered to establish an autonomic Albanian State which is again connected to the Ottoman, but it is refused. Instead of this, it is wished some means to some extend satisfy the legal inclinations of Albanians and give them some administrative discriminations^{*****}.

In spite of all the facts, Ottoman State prefers Corti Pact to 26th June offer.

It insists on carrying out these decisions as it'll be better for Ottoman State to carry out the responsibilities in Corti Pact on 18th April. Because as it is seen if these are not carried out, great states don't mind Montenegro's invading Ülgün⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺.

On 18th August Abidin Pasha gives a reply to representatives of six states and he wants border determination Agreements to be organized. Also he declares that he prefers Ülgün's being abandon instead of Gosine and Plave. Because of England's Gladstone policy six states send Ülgün a navy. Ottoman State who knows using force results in bad consequences and this is not true for religious and political morals, force his own citizens to bind a government which they don't want⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺.

The navy reached to Ülgün on September 1880 and spends about 2 months there^{§§§§§}. This is only a kind of warning and threat. As it is ordered to captains not to shoot. This threats works and Albanians, who do not want to give Ülgün to Montenegro starts to resist. Ottoman State's unhurried actions and instead of forcing Albanians, trials of convincing them delay Ülgün's being abandoned. England becomes angry about Ottoman's these inconsiderate attitudes and offers to invade İzmir with Russia and Italy. Gladstone's this offer is refused by Germany, Austria and France^{*****}.

Abdulhamid doesn't believe that they will give an end to the navy show, which is given after ülgün abandoned. He says; the aim of great nations is to make Ottoman state just a land, for this reason it is difficult to take a written guarantee⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺. So, it stated that instead of gosine and plave, ülgün can be abandoned in certain conditions⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺. In Berlin Pact the possessions and religions are already taken under guarantee^{§§§§§}. The reason of Abdulhamid's wish to take such a guarantee is the obligations of the six states, which make a navy show, and the worry about the Yanya matter^{*****}.

Ottoman State, with the decision of Meclis-i Vükela gives Rıza Pasha an order and for this reason⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ Rıza Pasha immediately goes to the region with a six battalion soldier on 10th October

⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ Ali Fuat Türk geldi; *İbid*, p. 358.

^{§§§§§} Armaoğlu; *İbid*, p. 541.

^{*****} For the whole text of the passage look at Ali Fuat Türk geldi; *İbid* page 364 Darkot, *İbid* article, page 227.

⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ *BOA*, YEE, 101/23.

⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ For the whole text of the document look at Ali Fuat Türk geldi: *İbid* page 368-369.

^{§§§§§} Francis Seymour Stevenson; *A History Of Montenegro*, Elibron Classics, London 2005, p. 202; *BOA*, YPRK ASK, 4/49.

^{*****} *BOA*, YPRK. ASK, 4/36; Constantine A. Chekrezi, *İbid* page 53; The six country fleet anchored to Dubrounik consisted of 3 french, 2 British, 2 Austrain, 2 İtalian, 1 Russian and 1 German ships. Peter Bantlı; *İbid* page 207-208, Armeoğlu; *İbid* page 542.

⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ Sultan IInd Abdulhamit Han. "Detect" V.2 memleket görüşlerim, çağır yay. İst. 1976, p. 76-77.

⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ *BOA*, YEE, 76/83.

^{§§§§§} *BOA*, YPRK HR, 5/35.

^{*****} Ali Fuat Türk geldi; *İbid*, p. 157.

⁺⁺⁺⁺⁺ *BOA*, YEE, 101/29.

1880^{*****}. On the other hand the time is up which is stated by Admiral Simon to give Ülgün^{§§§§§§§§}. These decisions are prepared by Meclis-i Vükela^{*****} and they are presented to great nations^{†††††††††}.

Ottoman State decides to use force to Albanians for to abandon Ülgün and sends Müşir Derviş Pasha as the magnificent commandor who is in Selonika, in order to send Albanian forces out of Ülgün^{*****}. Dervis Pasha with 1300 soldiers come to the Ülgün by using Istanbul and Mecidiye Ships^{§§§§§§§§}.

Upon this order, Dervis Pasha comes from İskodra to Ülgün with Ottoman soldiers and gives an end to rebellion by using force on 23rd November 1880. With the demand of an officer from Montenegro, an agreement is prepared with Ottoman officer Bedri Bey and Montenegro citizens entered Ülgün^{*****} at the night of connecting 26th to 27th November in 1880^{†††††††††}. At the same night Düvel-i Sitte^{*****} ambassadors are informed by Asım Pasha and the navy's showing of is ended on 5th December 1880^{§§§§§§§§§}.

In conclusion, it is given to Montenegro instead of Ülgün, Gosine and Plave which are composed mostly of Albanian Muslims. The effects of this barter, which is done by taking the support of all the great nations, continue for a long time. An existing problem is solved but it causes many other ones.

As it is understood, the lands, which are given to Montenegro indirectly triggers the independence of Albanians. The Albanian lands, which are lying on the connection line of Ottoman and Montenegro are given to Montenegro after the Berlin Pact. Although Ottoman State doesn't want to this, with the force of great nations these lands are given and Albanians are bartered. This causes a disappointment among Albanians which lasts long years.

e- The Determination of Montenegro's Border and Göksu Pact

Gosine and Pleve keep on binding to Kosovo Province. But the problem is where will be the border passes. Montenegro doesn't want to abandon some of the villages in Gosine where they occupy as Ottoman gives Ülgün to Montenegro^{*****}. Also they don't contend a new agreement^{†††††††††}.

Ottoman offers a new and unusual recommendation in order to solve the matter. It is absolutely certain that Albanians do not want to abandon their lands to Montenegro. But it is necessary from one side to step back. Otherwise the matter can become long lasting and again an international conflict. Ottoman offers Nikola if he gives up the insisting on the lands on Tuz region, he'll be given a scar, and some of his debts to Ottoman State will be ignored^{†††††††††}.

In order to conclude the border studies on 19-31st August, some meetings are held between Prince Nikola, Nusret Pasha, who is the representative of Ottoman State, in Göksu town. Prince pleases from the meetings and expresses his thanks^{§§§§§§§§§}.

There occur some conflicts during the meetings held by the representatives of the two states in Lim Valley. So the problems become hard to solve. Prince Nikola and Montenegro Government's offers do not cover each other. In order the correct the fault, Prince Nikola during his visit in Istanbul makes some meetings in Göksu Town where he stays as a guest. At the end of these meetings and exchanging of ideas, which are held on

††††††††† Nuray Bozbora: Albania under otoman control and development of Albanian nationalism, İstanbul, 1997, p. 200-202.

§§§§§§§§§ BOA, YPRK PT, 1/31, 18 za 1297 (23.10.1880).

***** BOA, YEE, 100/39.

††††††††† BOA, YEE, 100/43; According to this,

1.States will give up fleet shows, 2.Inhabitants of the abandoned towns will be protected in terms of religion, residence, legal rights. 3. Rights of the Muslim and Catholic community will be guaranteed. 4. Podgorica boundary will be accepted log the states. Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *Ibid* page 156; Peter Bartl; *Ibid* page 208.

††††††††† Süleyman Kocabaş; *Ibid*, s 170; Darkot; *Aynı makale*, p. 227.

§§§§§§§§§ Peter Bartl; *Ibid*, p. 209.

***** BOA, YEE, 101/66.

††††††††† BOA, YEE, 101/61.

††††††††† BOA, YPRK KOM, 2/87.

§§§§§§§§§ Ali Fuat Türkgeldi; *Ibid*, p. 166.

***** BOA, YPRK UM, 5/104.

††††††††† BOA, YPRK UM, 5/103.

††††††††† BOA, İrade-i Dahili (İDH), 1295/-3 /102094.

§§§§§§§§§ BOA, YAHUS, 174/66.

between 19-31 August 1883, Prince Nikola, Montenegro Foreign Affairs Minister M. Radonic and Nusret Pasha, who is the representative of Ottoman State, reach these decisions;*****

The Places in Lim Valley and under Montenegro's management will be abandoned to Montenegro.

Prince will leave all the places, which are not invaded or belonged to Montenegro, to Devlet-i Aliye whether they are Christian or not.

Villages are determined with the borders of the towns. As between in Sisko, Jezero and Moikovach the places, which verified in Berlin Pact, become exceptions.

On the decided border line, Montenegro and Devlet-I Aliye superintendent of polices make determination studies together+++++++.

For this reason, Prince Nikola expresses his thanks to Babı-Ali for their good thoughts and attitudes++++++. Göksu pact is a very important progress. It is seen as a good step to lessen the conflicts even if it doesn't finish them.

After the pact is signed, the necessary instruction is given to Mustafa Asım Pasha§§§§§§§§§§. With the determination of Montenegro, Ottoman officers Mustafa Asım (Brana Head superintendent of police), İsmail Hakkı, Ahmet Tahir, Bedrettin and Sabri Bey continue to decide undetermined parts of the borders of Gosine – Plave and Montenegro – Ottoman in 1884*****.

Another determination study of border is in Ülgün–Pilaninçe (Planintiza). In order to determine the Ottoman – Montenegro border in its last form, G. Vooucovitch, Istanbul Montenegro Charge of the affairs, sends a memorandum to Ottoman Delegates,Müşir Derviş and Nusret Pasha. In the memorandum it is foreseen to interfere to the Christians in Berane+++++++.

Charge of the Affairs of Montenegro and Ottoman representatives Nusret Dervis Pasha and Rıza Pasha sign an agreement in order to determine the Ottoman – Montenegro border, definitely.

In this agreement, particularly in Planenitza, where rebellion signs can be seen, border determination is done. According to agreement,+++++++.

Morino Province is given to Montenegro,

Repic Province is given to Devlet-I Aliye,

Rjenitza Province is given to Devlet-I Aliye,

Velika Province is given to Montenegro,

Mokra Planina is given to Ottoman State.

In this agreement Christian Villages are given to Montenegro§§§§§§§§§§. So, Göksu Pact signed on 29 August 1883, is affirmed*****.

Nikola The Prince of Montenegro is pleased from this agreement as he thinks it gives an end to the conflicts. He immediately requests Dersaadet Charge of the Affairs Gavro Voukovich to forgive the citizens of Montenegro+++++++ who are in prison and soon after this request these are left free+++++++.

***** BOA, YAHUS, 174/66, 30 L 1300

+++++++ BOA, YAHUS, 174/66, 30 L 1300.

+++++++ BOA, YAHUS, 174/66, 30 L 1300.

§§§§§§§§§§ BOA, İrade-i Haricî (İHR), 337 /21725, 24/Z /1300 (Hicrî).

***** BOA, YAHUS, 205 /83, 29/Za/1304 (Hicrî).

+++++++ BOA, YEE, 109/17, 02/Z/1301.

+++++++ BOA, YEE, 100/44, 11 Ra 1302.

§§§§§§§§§§ Thomas Erskine Holland (e.d.); *İbid*, p. 295

***** This agreement was signed among Ibrahim Rıza Pasha, Nusrat Pasha and Montenegro Dersaadet charge d'affaires G. Voucovitch on 12th December 1884. BOA,YEE, 100/44i 11,RA 1302.

+++++++ The letter,which includes the list of ten Montenegro prisoners and signed by Montenegro ambassador, was presented to the soultarn.

+++++++ BOA, İDH. 958 /75775, 04/Z /1302 (Hicrî).

In conclusion, the completion of the determination of the borders causes a relaxation among the citizens. But it should be remembered that the people who do not like the completion of the determination of the borders will try to arise some incidents in order to cause some conflicts between the two countries.

The Continuation of the Border Matters

After leaving Ülgün to Montenegro, the determination studies are carried out between Ottoman – Montenegro officers. The members are changed from time to time and new appointments are done. We can see that up to 1882 - 1887 years, Gusinyeli Ali Pasha worked in the border determination commission. In Albanian, Ali Beg Shabanagaj is a leader who was born in Gusinye and gets military education in Istanbul. He works as a head officer in Gusinye since 1845. Also in determination of borders, he tries hard to keep the borders utterly in Gusinye. In 1883, Erkan-i Harbiye Head Officer Bedri Bey is appointed to remove the conflict in the border of the Montenegro. In January 1884, Mustafa Asım, İsmail Hakkı, Ahmet Tahir, Bedrettin Bey and Sabri Bey are appointed as the officer to the determination commission of Montenegro border.

In 1887, the determination of Montenegro border is carried out by a mixed commission, which is composed of Gusinyeli Ali Pasha, Cetine Sefiri, charge of the Affairs of the border and an officer who is sent by Montenegro Government. In 1890, Ahmet Pasha is appointed again for the determination of the border.

In 1905, Montenegro requests to form a commission for the determination of the borders. In 1906, with the leadership of Ferik Enver Pasha from Ottoman State and General Vukovic, National Defense Minister of Montenegro, a report is prepared. After that in 1908, in order to analyze the border matter deeply, a commission is appointed as the representative of Ottoman State with the leadership of Bedri Pasha, who is the Governor of İşkodra. The two countries commissions continue to border determination negotiations.

While determining the borders, the expenses are paid by the public treasury. Salaries are given to the members of the commission. From time to time some difficulties arise and the obligation of sending the military forces to the region. Süleyman Külçe points out that, lots of people die because of the conflicts in these border matters. He also indicates that, the height of the corpses are as long as the borders between Ottoman and Montenegro and he specifies the determination of Ottoman and Montenegro border is a very difficult task. Montenegro's struggles to expanse and take more money makes the determination of the borders difficult and Ottoman's patriotism makes it too long.

As it is seen the missions of the commissions, which determine the Ottoman – Montenegro border are carried out many years. Up the end of the Abdulhamid' period this commission tries hard to determine Kosovo – Montenegro border. But it is a difficult task to find a solution. It can be understood from the struggles of the commissions that, the determination of the borders is not easy and they come face to face lots of difficulties.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§ Peter Batlı; *Ibid*, page 204, Gusinyeli Ali Pasha was originally from plve. While he was oppsed to the legality of Berlin treaty, he became famous with his revolt. He used interesting methods in fixing the borders. At once, Montenegro murahhas offered him to determine the border by using the pathway of his horse. But later, whild the protocol was being prepared, some disagreements were occured on the pathway of his horse. Süleyman Külçe; *Ibid* page 310.

***** BOA, YPRK ASK, 15/62.

†††††††††††††††† BOA, YPRK ASK, 15/62.

†††††††††††††††† BOA, Meclis-i Vâlâ (MV), 16/9.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§ BOA, İMMS, 114/4868.

***** BOA, YEE, 100/45.

†††††††††††††††† *Devleti Aliyye-i Osmaniye İle Karadağ Hududu Tarifnamesi*, Matbaa-i Askeriye, ist. 1324, p. 4-19.

†††††††††††††††† BOA, MV, 162/61.

§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§§ Süleyman Külçe; *Ibid*, p. 311.